

THE CHALLENGES OF NATIONHOOD AND STATE FORMATION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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Abstract

Nigeria's Fourth Republic, established in 1999, marked a significant transition from military rule to democratic governance. However, the nation continues to struggle with deep-rooted challenges in state-building, including ethnic tensions, institutional weaknesses, governance deficits, and security threats. These persistent issues hinder national cohesion and sustainable development. This study seeks to examine the complexities of Nigeria's state-building process, focusing on the interplay between historical legacies, political structures, and socio-economic realities. Anchored in the Post-Colonial State Theory, the research explores how inherited colonial institutions and governance models have shaped contemporary political dynamics. Employing a qualitative methodology, the study analyzes historical and contemporary data to assess the impact of colonial structures on governance and national integration. The findings reveal that the persistence of colonial-era political arrangements, coupled with weak institutions and elite dominance, have perpetuated instability and governance inefficiencies. Additionally, the lack of inclusive governance and equitable resource distribution continue to fuel ethnic divisions and political discontent. The study underscores the urgent need for institutional reforms, stronger democratic structures, and inclusive governance to address these challenges. It recommends a deliberate effort to strengthen institutions, promote national dialogue, and enhance political accountability as essential steps toward sustainable state-building. By addressing these fundamental issues, Nigeria can foster a more stable and cohesive political landscape, paving the way for long-term national development.

Keywords: Nationhood, State-Building, Governance, Democracy, Post-Colonial State

Introduction

The inauguration of Nigeria's Fourth Republic in 1999 marked a significant milestone in the nation's political history, signaling a transition from decades of military dictatorship to democratic governance. This shift rekindled hopes for national unity, institutional strengthening, and sustainable development. However, over two decades later, Nigeria continues to grapple with persistent challenges that threaten its state-building efforts¹. These include weak governance, corruption, ethnic and religious conflicts, economic instability, and insecurity, particularly from insurgent groups like Boko Haram and banditry. Additionally, issues such as poor infrastructure, high unemployment, and weak institutions continue to undermine national cohesion and effective governance. These persistent problems highlight the complexities of Nigeria's post-colonial state and its struggle to establish a stable and inclusive political and economic system.

Ethnic divisions remain deeply entrenched, fostering political tensions and undermining national cohesion. Weak institutions have hindered effective governance, allowing corruption, inefficiency, and lack of accountability to thrive. Additionally, governance deficits, characterized by poor policy implementation and elite domination, have contributed to social and economic inequalities. Furthermore, the country faces escalating security crises, including terrorism², banditry, secessionist agitations, and communal conflicts, which have significantly weakened state authority and stability³. Nigeria's security crises have escalated due to several interconnected factors. Terrorist groups like Boko Haram and the Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP) continue to launch attacks, particularly in the northeast, undermining national security². Banditry has spread across the northwest and central regions, with armed groups engaging in mass kidnappings, killings, and destruction of villages. Secessionist agitations, particularly from groups like the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the southeast, have fueled tensions and violent confrontations with

security forces. Additionally, communal conflicts over land, resources, and ethnic rivalries persist², particularly between farmers and herders, further weakening state authority and governance. These security threats have stretched the capacity of law enforcement agencies, eroded public trust in the government, and exacerbated instability across the country⁴.

This study critically examines the complexities of these challenges, focusing on the interplay between historical legacies, political structures, and socio-economic factors that continue to obstruct Nigeria's state-building process. Central to this analysis is the Post-Colonial State Theory, which provides a framework for understanding how Nigeria's inherited colonial institutions and governance models have shaped its contemporary political and administrative landscape. The study explores how colonial-era bureaucratic systems, coupled with the exploitation of ethnic divisions, have contributed to weak state structures and governance inefficiencies.

By interrogating these historical and structural dynamics, the paper argues that overcoming Nigeria's state-building challenges requires a multidimensional approach. Institutional reforms must be prioritized to strengthen governance frameworks, promote inclusivity, and enhance public accountability. Additionally, fostering political will and encouraging national dialogue are imperative in addressing ethnic tensions and governance shortcomings. Through these measures, Nigeria can work towards a more stable, cohesive, and sustainable democratic state.

Conceptual Clarifications

The challenges of nationhood and state-building in Nigeria's Fourth Republic are deeply rooted in historical legacies, socio-political structures, and governance dynamics⁵. To comprehensively examine these issues, five key concepts must be clarified: nationhood, state-building, governance, democracy, and post-colonial state.

1. Nationhood

Nationhood refers to the collective identity and shared consciousness of a people within a defined territorial space⁶. It encompasses cultural heritage, historical experiences, and common aspirations that bind individuals into a cohesive national entity⁷. However, Nigeria's pluralistic nature—comprising over 250 ethnic groups—has made the formation of a unified national identity challenging⁸. The country has struggled with ethnic tensions, religious divisions, and regional disparities, all of which have hindered efforts to create a true sense of nationhood⁹. Nigeria's struggle with ethnic tensions, religious divisions, and regional disparities stems from its colonial history and post-independence governance structures. The artificial amalgamation of over 250 ethnic groups in 1914 created deep-rooted ethnic rivalries, which were further exacerbated by colonial policies of divide and rule. Post-independence, political competition has often been shaped by ethnic and regional loyalties rather than national interests, leading to conflicts over resource allocation, political representation, and power sharing.

Religious divisions between the predominantly Muslim north and the largely Christian south have fueled sectarian violence, with extremist groups like Boko Haram exploiting these fault lines to justify their insurgency. Regional economic disparities have also widened, with the north experiencing lower literacy rates, higher poverty levels, and weaker infrastructure compared to the south. These factors have created a fragmented national identity, where many Nigerians prioritize ethnic or regional affiliations over a unified sense of nationhood, thereby weakening national integration and state-building efforts.

2. State-Building

State-building is the process of constructing and consolidating political institutions, legal frameworks, and administrative structures that ensure the effective governance and stability of a state¹⁰. It involves the establishment of strong institutions, security frameworks, economic policies, and mechanisms for public accountability¹¹. In Nigeria, state-building has been constrained by weak governance structures, political instability, and institutional inefficiencies that have persisted since independence¹². Nigeria's state-building efforts have been constrained by weak governance structures, political instability, and institutional inefficiencies, primarily due to the legacy of colonial rule, military interventions, and a fragile democratic system. At independence in 1960, the country inherited a governance structure that centralized power in the hands of a political elite, often at the expense of grassroots participation and institutional development. This top-down approach created a disconnect between the government and the people, leading to weak state legitimacy.

Political instability, marked by successive military coups from 1966 to 1999, disrupted democratic governance and entrenched authoritarian rule. These frequent transitions undermined the development of strong institutions, as each regime prioritized its survival over institutional continuity. Even in the Fourth Republic, political instability persists through electoral violence, vote rigging, and weak political party structures, making democratic consolidation difficult.

Institutional inefficiencies further weaken Nigeria's state-building process. Corruption within the civil service, law enforcement agencies, and the judiciary has eroded public trust in governance. Bureaucratic bottlenecks and political interference hinder effective policy implementation, while inadequate funding and capacity constraints limit the performance of public institutions. As a result, governance in Nigeria remains characterized by inefficiency, lack of accountability, and weak enforcement of laws, all of which impede efforts at sustainable state-building.

3. Governance

Governance refers to the exercise of political authority, the management of state affairs, and the implementation of policies that promote social and economic development¹³. Effective governance requires transparency, accountability, and the rule of law. However, Nigeria's governance landscape has been marred by corruption, poor policy implementation, and elite dominance, which have undermined democratic consolidation and state-building efforts¹⁴. Nigeria's governance landscape has been marred by corruption, poor policy implementation, and elite dominance, all of which have severely undermined democratic consolidation and state-building efforts. Corruption remains a major challenge, with public funds often siphoned off by political elites, weakening the capacity of the state to deliver essential services. This has fostered a culture of impunity, where political office is viewed as a means of personal enrichment rather than public service. The result is widespread distrust in government institutions and diminished confidence in the democratic process.

Poor policy implementation further exacerbates governance failures. While successive administrations have introduced reforms aimed at promoting economic growth, security, and social welfare, many of these policies fail due to a lack of political will, inadequate funding, or bureaucratic inefficiency. For example, policies targeting poverty alleviation, infrastructure development, and security reforms often do not achieve their intended impact due to mismanagement and lack of continuity across different administrations.

Elite dominance has also stifled Nigeria's democratic development by concentrating power within a small group of political and economic elites. This has led to exclusionary governance, where decision-making is driven by the interests of the ruling class rather than the broader population. Political parties often serve as platforms for elite bargaining rather than vehicles for genuine democratic representation, making it difficult for new voices and grassroots movements to influence governance. These factors collectively weaken state-building efforts, as they limit inclusivity, accountability, and the legitimacy of democratic institutions.

4. Democracy

Democracy, as a system of government based on popular participation and electoral legitimacy, was restored in Nigeria with the advent of the Fourth Republic in 1999¹⁵. While democracy is expected to promote political stability and institutional development, Nigeria has faced significant challenges, including electoral fraud, political violence, and weak democratic institutions¹⁶. These challenges have hindered the realization of democratic dividends, exacerbating governance deficits and state fragility¹⁷. These challenges have hindered the realization of democratic dividends by deepening governance deficits and exacerbating state fragility in Nigeria. Despite over two decades of democratic rule, many citizens have not experienced tangible improvements in their quality of life. Basic public services such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure remain inadequate due to widespread corruption, mismanagement, and inefficient policy implementation. As a result, many Nigerians feel disconnected from the state, seeing governance as an elite-driven enterprise rather than a system that serves the broader population.

Governance deficits are evident in the lack of transparency, weak accountability mechanisms, and the failure of institutions to uphold the rule of law. The judicial system, for instance, struggles with delays, political interference, and corruption, making justice inaccessible to ordinary citizens. Similarly, the legislature, meant to represent the people, often prioritizes self-serving interests, leading to weak oversight of the executive branch. These deficits erode public trust in democratic institutions, reducing civic engagement and participation in governance.

State fragility is further exacerbated by the inability of the government to maintain law and order. Rising insecurity—driven by terrorism, banditry, secessionist movements, and communal clashes—has exposed the state’s limited capacity to enforce its authority across all regions. In many areas, non-state actors such as vigilante groups, insurgents, and ethnic militias have filled the governance vacuum, challenging the state’s monopoly on the use of force. This weak state presence fuels further instability, discourages investment, and fosters cycles of violence and underdevelopment.

Ultimately, the failure to deliver democratic dividends has led to growing disillusionment among Nigerians, with some questioning the effectiveness of democracy itself. This dissatisfaction fuels voter apathy, increases the risk of political unrest, and strengthens authoritarian tendencies, all of which pose significant threats to Nigeria’s long-term state-building efforts.

5. Post-Colonial State

The Post-Colonial State Theory provides a framework for understanding Nigeria’s contemporary governance challenges¹⁸. Nigeria’s colonial history shaped its political and administrative structures, leaving behind a legacy of authoritarianism, ethnic division, and economic exploitation¹⁹. These inherited governance models have contributed to weak state institutions, elite dominance, and persistent governance failures in the Fourth Republic²⁰. Nigeria’s inherited governance models, shaped by colonial rule and military regimes, have fostered weak state institutions, elite dominance, and governance failures in the Fourth Republic. The colonial administration established a highly centralized and authoritarian governance structure that prioritized control over inclusivity. This model persisted after independence, with state institutions remaining bureaucratic, inefficient, and susceptible to political interference.

Elite dominance has also been a defining feature of Nigeria’s governance, as power remains concentrated in the hands of a few political and economic elites. These elites manipulate state institutions for personal gain, perpetuating patron-client politics, corruption, and poor policy implementation. The lack of strong, independent institutions has further allowed corruption to thrive, undermining transparency and accountability in governance.

As a result, the Fourth Republic has been characterized by governance failures, including weak public service delivery, policy inconsistencies, and ineffective law enforcement. The inability to reform these inherited governance structures has contributed to Nigeria’s ongoing struggles with political instability, economic mismanagement, and social unrest. Addressing these challenges requires institutional reforms that promote accountability, decentralization, and stronger democratic governance.

Addressing these structural weaknesses requires fundamental reforms, political will, and inclusive governance frameworks²¹.

The interplay between these five concepts highlights the complex nature of Nigeria’s nationhood and state-building challenges. Overcoming these obstacles requires comprehensive institutional reforms, strengthened democratic governance, and deliberate efforts to foster national unity and inclusivity²².

Theoretical Framework: Post-Colonial State Theory

The Post-Colonial State Theory offers a robust analytical framework for understanding the structural weaknesses and governance challenges that continue to shape Nigeria’s state-building process. Scholars such as Alavi (1972) and Ake (1985) argue that post-colonial states are not neutral arbiters of society but rather institutions designed to perpetuate elite dominance and external economic dependency²³. These states, they contend, were constructed in a manner that prioritizes control, exploitation, and economic extraction rather than fostering genuine democratic governance and national integration.

Nigeria, like many other African countries that emerged from colonial rule, inherited governance structures that were largely extractive, authoritarian, and deeply embedded in colonial administrative logic. The colonial state in Nigeria functioned as an instrument of external control, with power centralized in a bureaucratic elite that primarily served the interests of the colonial government and its economic partners. This institutional arrangement persisted beyond independence, as the newly emergent Nigerian state adopted a similar framework, maintaining centralized authority rather than fostering inclusive political participation.

The structural weaknesses of the post-colonial state in Nigeria are evident in several ways. First, the state remains excessively centralized, with power concentrated at the federal level, limiting the ability of local and regional institutions to exercise meaningful autonomy. This centralization fuels grievances among ethnic and regional groups, leading to persistent calls for restructuring and greater devolution of powers. Second, governance institutions remain weak and ineffective, as they were not originally designed for democratic accountability but for administrative control and resource extraction. As a result, corruption, patronage politics, and institutional inefficiency continue to undermine development and national cohesion.

Furthermore, the post-colonial state in Nigeria struggles with legitimacy and identity crises. The artificial territorial boundaries imposed by colonial rule grouped together diverse ethnic nationalities without a unified political identity, making nation-building an enduring challenge. Ethnic and regional divisions, often exacerbated by political elites, continue to threaten national unity, with groups perceiving the state as an instrument of exclusion rather than a vehicle for collective progress. This is compounded by the failure of successive governments to establish a truly inclusive political and economic system, reinforcing social fragmentation and political instability.

Ake (1985) further argues that the post-colonial state in Africa, including Nigeria, is characterized by an over-reliance on coercion rather than consensus-building and the lack of institutionalized democratic norms means that governance frequently resorts to authoritarian measures to maintain control, suppress opposition, and manage political dissent²⁴. This has resulted in a cycle of weak democratic institutions, electoral malpractice, and recurring governance crises that hinder sustainable development and state-building.

Therefore, the Post-Colonial State Theory provides a critical lens through which Nigeria's governance struggles can be understood and addressed. The persistence of colonial-era governance structures continues to hinder democratic consolidation, national unity, and sustainable development. However, with strategic reforms, institutional strengthening, and an inclusive governance approach, Nigeria can overcome these historical challenges and build a more resilient and participatory state.

Historical Context of Nigeria's State-Building Efforts

Nigeria's struggle with nationhood and state-building is deeply rooted in its colonial past. The 1914 amalgamation of diverse ethnic groups under British colonial rule created a structurally fragile state that lacked a unifying national identity²⁵. This artificial construction of the Nigerian state did not consider the historical, cultural, and political differences among the various ethnic groups, setting the stage for future tensions. Upon independence in 1960, hopes were high for a stable and unified nation. However, the post-independence era was marked by political instability, ethnic rivalries, and governance crises, culminating in the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970), which further deepened divisions. The subsequent years were characterized by military coups, authoritarian rule, and a struggle for democratic governance. Even with the transition to democracy in 1999, many of these challenges persisted²⁶.

The Post-Colonial State Theory provides an analytical framework for understanding these struggles. According to Alavi (1972) and Ake (1985), post-colonial states inherited governance structures designed to serve elite interests rather than foster genuine national development. In Nigeria, these colonial-era institutions remained largely unchanged, reinforcing centralized power and limiting grassroots participation. As a result, governance failures, ethnic tensions, and socio-economic inequalities continued to hinder state-building efforts.

Ethnic Politics and National Integration

Ethnicity remains one of the most dominant forces in Nigerian politics, shaping electoral processes, governance structures, and policy implementation. Political parties are often formed along ethnic and regional lines, reflecting deep-seated divisions rather than national cohesion. Political appointments, resource distribution, and government policies are frequently influenced by ethnic considerations rather than merit or national interest²⁷. This ethno-political structure fosters distrust among different groups, undermining efforts at national integration.

To address these challenges, successive governments introduced policies such as the federal character principle and zoning arrangements, designed to ensure ethnic representation in government appointments and resource allocation²⁸.

However, these measures have yielded mixed results, as they often prioritize ethnic balancing over competence, further entrenching inefficiencies within the political system.

From the lens of Post-Colonial State Theory, this phenomenon is a legacy of colonial divide-and-rule strategies, which institutionalized ethnic segmentation to maintain control. Instead of fostering a unified national identity, post-colonial Nigeria inherited and perpetuated these divisions, making political unity elusive.

Governance and Institutional Weaknesses

One of the critical challenges in Nigeria's Fourth Republic is the weakness of state institutions. The country's governance framework is plagued by corruption, lack of transparency, and institutional inefficiency, limiting the state's capacity to provide essential public services²⁹. The judiciary, law enforcement agencies, and civil service suffer from chronic underfunding and political interference, making them largely ineffective in upholding justice and the rule of law³⁰.

This institutional weakness is consistent with Ake's (1985) argument that post-colonial states lack the structural capacity to enforce policies and maintain public trust. Instead, governance is often driven by personal rule, patron-client networks, and elite interests, rather than institutionalized democratic practices. The absence of strong institutions makes governance more susceptible to authoritarian tendencies, even within a democratic framework.

Post-Colonial State Theory explains this as a continuation of colonial governance structures, where state power was centralized and bureaucratic institutions were designed to serve colonial interests rather than foster development. In Nigeria, this translated into an overly centralized government with weak institutions, making the state incapable of effectively addressing governance challenges.

Security Challenges and State Stability

Security remains one of the most pressing issues in Nigeria's state-building process. The country has faced a rising wave of insecurity, including the Boko Haram insurgency, banditry, communal conflicts, and herder-farmer clashes³¹. These security threats have undermined national stability, forcing the government to rely on military intervention rather than proactive governance and policy solutions. The proliferation of non-state actors, such as armed militias and vigilante groups, further complicates the security landscape³².

From a Post-Colonial State Theory perspective, this crisis reflects state fragility, where the government lacks the capacity to monopolize violence or ensure public safety. Mamdani (1996) argues that colonial governance created a bifurcated state, where formal authority was concentrated in urban centers while rural areas were governed through indirect rule. This structural imbalance continues in Nigeria, as many rural regions remain outside effective state control, allowing insurgencies and criminal networks to thrive.

The inability of the state to address these security challenges erodes public trust and further legitimizes alternative governance structures, such as vigilante groups and ethnic militias. In the long term, this weakens the state's legitimacy and threatens national cohesion³³.

Economic Challenges and Developmental Constraints

Economic instability is another major barrier to state-building in Nigeria. The economy is heavily dependent on oil revenue, making it vulnerable to global price fluctuations. High unemployment rates, inflation, and inadequate industrialization have contributed to widespread poverty and inequality³⁴. Poor infrastructure, weak social services, and an underdeveloped manufacturing sector further limit economic growth³⁵.

According to Post-Colonial State Theory, these economic challenges stem from the colonial economic model, which prioritized the extraction of resources for export rather than domestic industrialization and self-sufficiency. Ake (1996) argues that post-colonial African economies were structured to serve global capitalist interests rather than local development needs. Nigeria's reliance on oil rents rather than diversified economic production reflects this colonial economic legacy, making it difficult to achieve sustainable development.

Moreover, the patrimonial nature of the Nigerian state, where economic resources are controlled by a small elite, perpetuates corruption and limits opportunities for inclusive growth. Without economic reforms that prioritize

diversification, infrastructure development, and job creation, Nigeria's state-building efforts will remain stagnant and vulnerable to periodic crises.

Nigeria's struggle with nationhood and state-building is deeply tied to its colonial past. The artificial construction of the state in 1914, combined with weak post-independence institutions, has led to persistent ethnic divisions, governance failures, security crises, and economic instability. Post-Colonial State Theory provides a useful framework for understanding these challenges, as it highlights how colonial governance structures have shaped contemporary political and economic realities.

Conclusion

Nigeria's Fourth Republic, which began in 1999, was expected to bring democratic stability and national renewal. However, persistent challenges such as ethnic politics, weak institutions, security threats, and economic instability have hindered nation-building and development.

Ethnic divisions continue to shape politics, with power-sharing mechanisms reinforcing rather than reducing sectionalism. Weak state institutions, including the judiciary and law enforcement, struggle with inefficiency and corruption, undermining public trust. Security remains a major challenge, with insurgency, banditry, and separatist movements exposing governance failures. Economic instability, over-reliance on oil, and poor infrastructure further weaken state legitimacy.

To build a resilient state, Nigeria must prioritize institutional reforms, security sector improvements, inclusive governance, and economic diversification.

Recommendations

1. Nigeria must implement sustainable economic policies that focus on industrialization to reduce dependence on crude oil and diversify the economy.
2. Job creation should be prioritized through investments in entrepreneurship, vocational training, and support for small and medium-sized enterprises.
3. The government must enhance infrastructure development, including roads, electricity, and transportation networks, to support economic growth and industrial expansion.
4. Strengthening fiscal discipline by reducing wasteful spending, improving revenue collection, and ensuring transparency in public finances is essential for economic stability.
5. Nigeria should promote agricultural modernization and manufacturing to create a more self-sufficient and export-driven economy.
6. Without strong economic foundations, the country's state-building efforts will remain fragile, making it difficult to achieve long-term national development.

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